

CHAPTER THREE

MORAL MONUMENTS

ANTQUITY IN THE FORM THAT GIACOMO LAURO PREFERRED WAS PRODUCED in his own age and lay scattered across the rich fields of printmaking. Anyone who roams the grounds of early modern printed genres today will occasionally stumble on “antiquities” unknown to archaeology. This book deals with some of them, because not only ruins but also their imagined forms need excavation. In the next four chapters I look in detail at how Lauro first and then Kircher bypass archaeological evidence and succeed in combining architectural, artistic, and literary references into new and meaningful structures. The *Temple of Honor and Virtue* is among the most intriguing of the age; it exemplifies the creative manipulation that governs Lauro’s oeuvre, admittedly at the cost of stretching the meaning of a reconstruction to its limits: Each element of the design is calculated in simulation of an historical site, without being archaeological at all. Almost an emblem, the print both derives from and professes a symbolic thinking of the past: It weaves together Vitruvius with the idea of virtue, and archaeology with allegory, reminding us that in the seventeenth century a moral continuity with the past was as significant as an architectural or artistic one. In fact, the complexities and contradictions of the Baroque attitude to antiquity converge in this particular reconstruction.

The temple demonstrates a vision of Rome that has no meaning unless we look beyond the remains, and even beyond antiquity. It is a telling fact that Lauro’s particular solution resurfaces in the guise of allegorical and moral edifices circulating in prints at the time, as we shall see. This image links

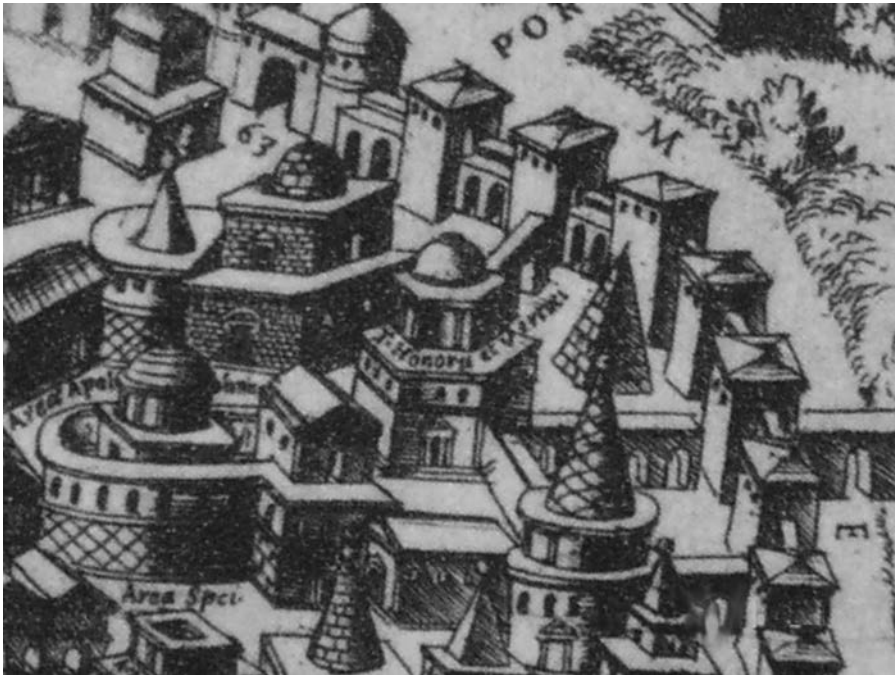


51. Étienne Dupérac, Temple of Honor and Virtue, *Urbis Romae Sciographia*, 1574, detail. Reproduced from Amato Pietro Frutaz's *Le Pianta di Roma*. Courtesy of Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani.

archaeology to issues concerning human conduct and the choice of paths in life. Antiquarianism exercised on this level, it is needless to add, shed minimal new light on the actual site, but it conveyed a moral urgency that the humanities today perhaps have lost. Thus Lauro turns a distant Roman edifice into a symbol that responds to and figures in contemporary religious and political rhetoric. For this particular design offered not only a model for Baroque architects, from Pietro da Cortona to Fischer von Erlach, but also a code by which to decipher their architecture as “Baroque” in the first place.

A MORAL MONUMENT

It was important for Lauro to establish a basis for his design in a historical site. The *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* stood by the ancient Porta Capena, a southern gate to the city. Before Lauro, Ligorio had marked a “Vicus Honoris et Virtutis” inside this gate on his reconstructive map, alluding to a “quarter” but not illustrating the temple. In contrast, the maps of Étienne Dupérac and Mario Cartaro did envision the ancient temple, but very differently from each other. Dupérac seems to have sketched a conventional temple with a columnar temple front, placed just inside the Porta Capena; it is barely discernible in its miniature format (Fig. 51). Cartaro, more imaginatively, represented a



52. Mario Cartaro, Temple of Honor and Virtue, *Celeberrimae Urbis Antiquae*, 1579, detail. Reproduced from Amato Pietro Frutaz's *Le Pianta di Roma*. Courtesy of Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani.

hexagonal building in two stories, crowned with a low dome (Fig. 52). Yet, nothing in these renderings prepares us for Lauro's elaborate invention.

In Lauro's engraving a circular temple with a hemispherical dome stands on a low podium (Fig. 53). This temple is reached through a smaller one, a miniature tempio that also ends in a dome, but the smaller one is ogee-shaped in an almost oriental-looking fashion and perforated by *oculi*. An exedra, or perhaps a full-circled colonnade (continuing beyond the frame of vision), embraces the temple compound, and statues balance on the balustrade running on top. The elevation of the entire complex consists of a rather sophisticated rhythm of paired columns alternating with niches holding statues and trophies. In the background, two symmetrically placed spiral columns flank the precinct. Compared to the previous reconstructions of the site, the composition seems entirely capricious and, according to Del Pesco, "invented"; yet not only does the "invention" rest on sources that can be precisely distinguished but also, as I argue, a profusion of elements are marshalled to convey one distinct message.¹

Lauro's architectural tour de force is a carefully balanced compromise between the actual historical site and the meaning with which Lauro wishes to invest it. On the one hand, Vitruvius and other ancient sources had left descriptions of a specific structure, and on the other the concepts of virtue

and honor pointed to a tradition of imaginative interpretations. The result is a palimpsest of images – layers of visual meaning – spanning prints, drawing, and frescoes and that draws on emblems and allegorical themes. Specific sources include the church father Augustine, the lawyer Andrea Alciato, and the art theorist and painter Federico Zuccaro. How does Lauro think he can justify this overload of information compressed into the image of a barely known, vanished ancient site?

To start with the actual ancient sources, Lauro deliberately misguides his readers. It is true that he cites ancient texts, but in antiquity there were two temples dedicated to “*Honos et Virtus*,” and Lauro confuses the references to such a degree that we are left unsure which temple he actually means. Initially, citing Livy, Lauro tells of a temple dedicated to honor and virtue near the Porta Capena. This structure is identical to the temple that Marcus Claudius Marcellus vowed to erect in 222 BC after the battle of Clastidium, near modern-day Piacenza. Marcellus’s original plan had been merely to rededicate an existing sanctuary to *honos* to one dedicated to both *honos* and *virtus*, but as Livy and others pointed out, the priests of Rome did not permit one cella to house different deities and so requested two distinct sanctuaries to be built. Marcellus’s compound therefore took the form of a twin temple – one dedicated to honor and the other to virtue. But construction dragged on, and as Lauro correctly states it was left to Marcellus’s son to dedicate the temple seventeen years after his father had committed himself to its rebuilding.²

Having introduced Marcellus’s temple in his text, Lauro proceeds to quote Vitruvius, and the confusion becomes apparent. Although Vitruvius, too, described a temple dedicated to honor and virtue, it was not the one built by Marcellus, but instead one erected by Gaius Marius a hundred years later (in 101 BC), and dedicated to the same deities. The architect was the celebrated Mucius who, according to Vitruvius, was responsible for

establishing the symmetries of cella, columns, and epistyles according to the proper principles of art. Indeed, if this temple had been of marble, so that the authority it had for its magnificence and expense were equal to that earned by the refinement of its art, it would be named among the foremost works of architecture. (7, preface, 17)

Vitruvius ranked the structure among “the foremost works of architecture,” and in reverence of this fact and of the ancient writer himself, Lauro quotes this entire passage in the narrow text field he has at his disposal below the engraving proper. However, just as significant as the passage he includes is the one he leaves out, in which Vitruvius mentions Marius’s temple as an example of a peripteral temple:

The peripteral temple will have six columns in the front and six in the rear, and, with the corner columns, eleven down each side. These

and Lauro's clever merging of the two is rooted more in the field of rhetoric than in archaeology. The seeming misconception forms part of an ingenious maneuvering that prepares the ancient site for its "Baroque" transformation.

As the accompanying text unfolds it becomes clear that Lauro's objective is not to reconstruct the ancient Temple of Honor and Virtue but to give honor and virtue, as moral standards, a visual form. It becomes obvious that his principal concern is to furnish these notions with an architectural shape and, in the explanation that accompanies it, to promote the combination of the two as a code of conduct for both patrons and public – like a manual of morals. Midway in his text Lauro tires of the historical temple and embarks on an altogether different discourse, namely a consideration of virtue and honor as such. To this surprising new agenda, the references to Livy and Vitruvius offered simply a prelude. Moral matters replace architectural ones when Lauro goes on to explain how any visitor to the site who sought to enter the temple of honor instead would find the door to that of virtue: "The ancient Romans," he continues, "taught that no one should be honored, or desire honours, who had not entered and for a long time resided – with profit – in virtue."³ This high-principled conclusion he is happy to admit rephrases a passage from Augustine's *City of God*, which stated that no one can attain honor without first possessing virtue (5.12). The architectural metaphor that Lauro wishes to create around this well-known passage overrides the dictates of archaeology, and his real mission emerges as that of giving a visible form to the all-important progression from virtue to honor.

To this end, and far more helpful than Vitruvius's description of Marius's single peripteral temple, was the idea of a temple consisting of two sanctuaries – one to honor and the other to virtue – like the one built by Marcellus. There is no evidence that the Romans attached any profound significance to the arrangement of a connected twin temple, but to later epochs, inspired by Augustine, it came to illustrate higher aims, in turn projected back onto the conjoined sanctuaries. In fact, by 1600, the double temple held a potent moral imperative powerful enough to cement the arrangement as a *type* in Baroque architecture, very much thanks to Lauro, but he was not the first to grasp the connection between Marcellus's temple and Augustine. This connection was previously expressed by sixteenth-century antiquarians. Marliano, for example, voiced the opinion that the two temples had been built as a reminder to soldiers passing through the Porta Capena on their way to war that no one could attain glory without virtue.⁴ In his magnum opus on ancient coins and epigraphs, the Spanish archbishop Antonio Agostini claimed that the Romans did not allow Marcellus's twin edifices to be built in any other fashion than as a succession leading from virtue to honor, because no one should be able to attain honor without first having "walked on the path of virtue."⁵ In other words, the fusion of Christian morals with the ancient temple had been already completed with

Agostini's Counter-Reformation critique. But to Lauro it acquires almost mystical overtones, and the structure becomes entirely symbolic. In his words the *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* expresses "the occult mystery that found its way into the souls of all those who visited it, since those who wanted to enter the door of Honor found no other door than the one of Virtue."⁶ In the little space that remains in the text field he goes on to explore the meaning of virtue. *Virtù*, he says, is the guardian of honor and secures the legitimate distribution of "nobility, crowns and diadems." Indeed, turning to the engraving, the figure of honor is glimpsed through the doorway, holding out a laurel in one hand and a crown in the other.⁷ Vividly imagining the scene, the last word is not yet said, as Lauro commends honest men who visit virtue's temple in contrast to "thieves and tyrants" who enter the temple of honor directly through the windows [sic] to rob the crowns instead of earning them:

Because Virtue, who is represented here as the single guardian of Honor, is the only keeper of nobility, crowns and diadems, and awards them to those who visit her temple often and who earn them through perfect conduct. But those who choose another path than that of virtue, or conquer these honors guised as a thief, or as a tyrant entering through the windows, they do not earn them, but steal them unjustly.⁸

With his imagination running away from him, Lauro gets the moral message entangled in the all-too-concrete environs he has constructed to convey it. Trapped by his own clever architectural metaphor, climbing in through the open windows is the only option he can think of to describe an unethical shortcut. But then, in an exceptionally interesting final address, Lauro frames a direct appeal to contemporary rulers. Based on the temple he has drawn, he urges princes to seize the occasion to build similar temples of honor and virtue – in their minds, "nell' animi loro" – thereby preventing honor from being bestowed on other than virtuous individuals.⁹ Only in this way, he concludes, would they learn to follow the example of the ancient emperors, who in spite of having no knowledge of the true faith nevertheless continuously strove to possess moral virtue. The mind as a moral edifice is of course a well-known topos, but that Lauro actually envisions one reveals the profoundly emblematic basis of his compound, perhaps even its reference in the *Ars Memoria* in the manner this art was refined in the late Renaissance.¹⁰

In general, Lauro demonstrates through this engraving an extremely important point often overlooked in studies on antiquarianism. From Ligorio to Kircher, reconstructing the past was not merely about transmitting the formal elements of antiquity but also about resurrecting the idea of virtue that was believed to be embodied in them or, more precisely, about transmitting virtue itself in concrete form. Ligorio firmly bases his antiquarian accounts on

underlying moral notions, and although the Neapolitan antiquarian does not mention the particular temple in question, he interestingly declares ancient Roman architecture as such to be “temples of honor and virtue.” For Ligorio a proper understanding of the past and the legitimacy of reconstruction are guaranteed not by imitating the architectural form alone but also by cultivating the virtue of the ancients:

But finally, both the ancients and the moderns should be well acquainted, as we believe the nobility always values the one and the other . . . With this follows that the virtue of a man loves another man’s virtue, and appreciates another man’s work, and dresses himself with the soul’s beauty always of those who find to be in agreement, and when the virtue therefore is in its own and clear essence, it searches excellent works, and places what is found in the memory of those who have earned it.¹¹

Clearly, virtue is seen as a moral constant connecting humankind across the centuries and securing the continuation of a truly valiant architecture. For Ligorio, not only a single temple but *all* temples are ideally “templi della Virtù e dell’Onore.”¹² In this situation, the antiquarian is really the one who sits with the key to unlock the models of virtue, holding primacy among the “virtuosi.”¹³ Indeed, Lauro received several letters commending his “virtue.” For example, Ranuccio Farnese tells him that “la vostra virtuosa fatica merita lode” – “your virtuous labour merits praise,” and Cardinal Vendramin writes in 1615 that in the very noble book titled *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* “I have been able to recognize your worthy labours and your great *virtue*” [my italics].¹⁴ By taking such comments to be more than courtly phrasing, they support the idea that the Temple of Honor and Virtue is symbolic not only in itself but also for the moral project that the resurrection of antiquity really was. The financier-editor Ambrogio did call Lauro’s majestic series a “theater of virtue,” and Alto, in his turn, urges the reader to dive into Lauro’s ancient Rome with “virtuosa curiosità” – desire tempered by dignified conduct.¹⁵ Within this larger scheme the temple itself came to offer a gateway to a baroquely sanctified past. In most early copies of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, and despite varying rearrangements of folios, the *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* held its primary place.¹⁶ With few exceptions it introduced Book II, as the first architectural image, arguably because it symbolized how the reader himself had to proceed through the “portal of virtue” before attaining the glory of insight into ancient Rome. The image thus served to set the mind of the *studioso* – the scholar – in the right frame before he entered the world of the ancients, instructing him in restraint and moral caution when faced with the series of ancient splendors. In that respect Lauro had created an ideal amalgam. Both as frontispiece and as architecture, the twin-temple paragon must be said to have triumphed in the tuition of Baroque man, as it nuances the picture of what a reconstruction was about.

From the mid-sixteenth century the idea of *virtù* dictated the recovery of lost antiquities or, more precisely, the hierarchy in which a recovery should place them. Extracted from ancient and Christian literature, the idea of virtue established a moral platform for the restitution of Roman monuments that significantly corrects Nagel and Wood's focus on the substitution of lost archetypal models as predominantly an exchange of forms. In parallel to the gradual implementation of Counter-Reformation doctrine in Roman art and culture, *virtù* was summoned in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquarianism not only to serve as a guarantee in the transmission and reconstruction of forms but also to project back onto the heathen past an invented "Christian" morality that would render reconstructions legitimate in the first place.

It is thus possible to see Lauro's engraving less as an image penetrating the architectural reality of the past and more as a moral point clad in architectural form. In this perspective, a different kind of source material appears relevant – temple representations that are allegorical in nature rather than ancient in origin.

ANTIQUITY IN EMBLEMS

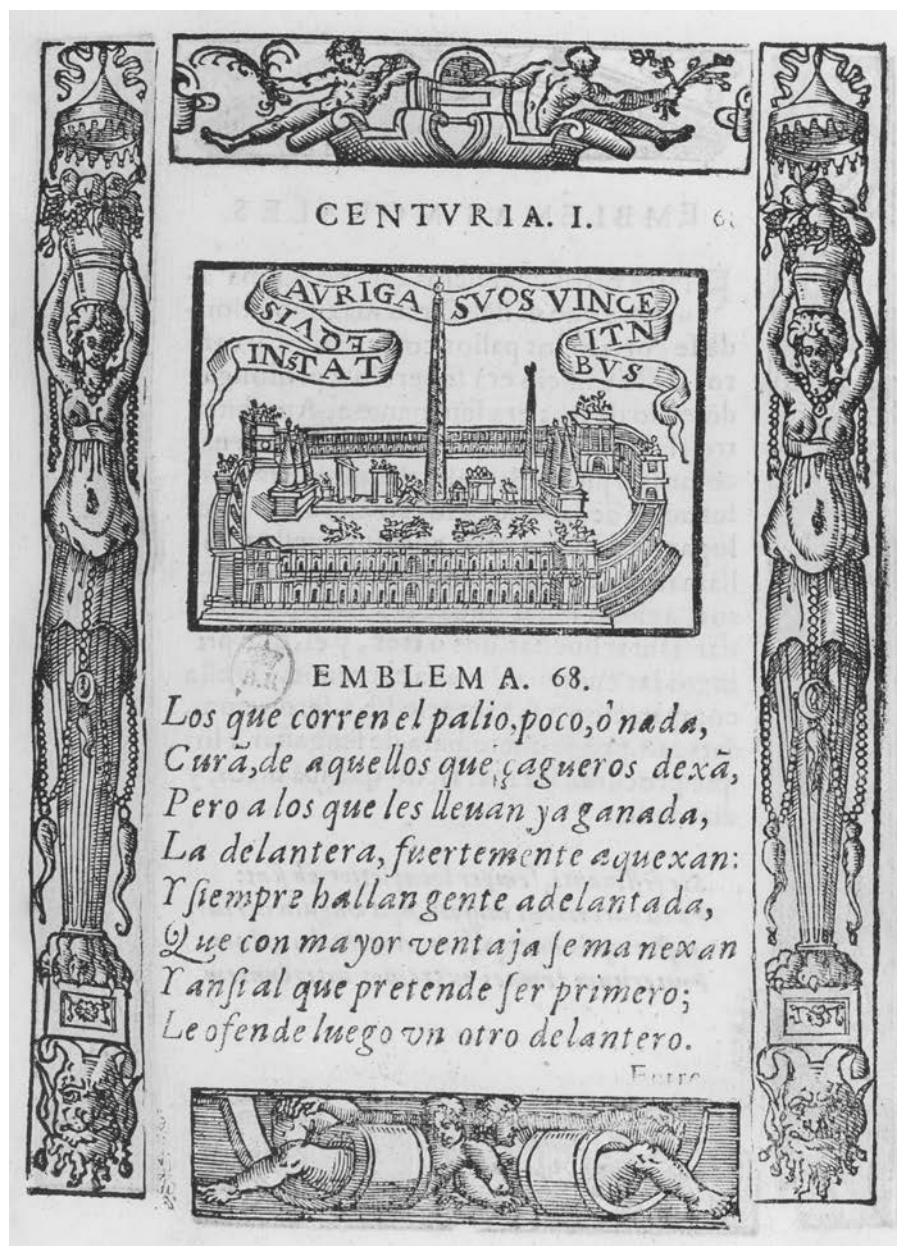
The correspondence between emblems and printed reconstructions has hardly been looked into and deserve a far more extensive treatment than there is room for here. From a modern archaeological perspective the emblem is a troubling source indeed. Antiquarian prints modeled on emblems would let antiquities figure on an entirely symbolic level, detached from real sites, turning the dependence of image on edifice upside-down. They would represent a past molded from and *as* pictures. In 1600 the methodology and iconography of the emblem would also be seen as completely alien to the general notion of ancient Rome, had it not been for a visual culture that at its very core was emblematic, channeling the view of the world through interpretative lenses. Allegories, symbols, and emblems established a practice of interpreting pictures as codes, seeing layers of meaning, and looking for truths beyond the immediately apparent: "[O]ne cannot understate the variety and pervasiveness of emblematic modes of thought and expression during this period," John Manning writes. "The emblem impinged on every aspect of European Renaissance and Baroque life."¹⁷ Today the emblem may seem bookish and contrived – the sign of a world where the world itself is reduced to signs. But its statements are as exact as in any other field even though they are archaeologically erroneous. If Lauro's *Temple of Honor and Virtue* creates a medley of Rome's past, the emblem format ensures that it all goes in the same key.

Although the term "emblem" today is used to describe a fairly loose category, it evolved from a quite specific Italian sixteenth-century literary genre.

The typical emblem consisted of three parts: A *motto* or heading announced the theme, the *pictura* offered a poignant illustration, and the *subscription* explained the picture and spelled out the moral lesson in an elegant piece of poetry. Emblems could appear in a number of ways, occasionally without pictures and with varying length of texts, but the tripartite composition was frequently employed. There were no limits to the notions that could be subjected to an emblematic verse, but wit and eloquence were favored (at least initially) over stern moralism. The *pictura* is the exact opposite of a portrait; its purpose is obviously not to depict physical reality, but to make an abstract domain – concepts, morals – visual. Familiar objects, even buildings, reconvene in a setting that is entirely imagined and ultimately symbolic, designed exclusively to give intangible truths an aspect. A simple, memorable form would drive the message home with added clarity: “The familiar, everyday or commonplace,” Manning states, “is changed by virtue of being placed in another context: it has become the bearer of unsuspected meaning, a metonym for a previously hidden reality”.¹⁸

The most obvious link between emblems and reconstructions can be traced back to the diffusion of antiquarian engravings across Europe and the consequent dispersal of monuments in emblem literature. Ligorio and other antiquarians are the artists behind many of the original monuments that later reappeared in emblems. More poignant still are the moral lessons that those in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to have derived from these monuments. For example, Théodore de Bèze’s collection of emblems published in 1580 includes an image of the modern Castel S. Angelo juxtaposed with the same building, but in the form of the reconstructed Mausoleum of Hadrian copied from Ligorio’s map of Rome issued nineteen years earlier.¹⁹ In the period around 1600, the idea of the ancient circus was especially evocative, as Karl Möseneder has discussed. Fueled by the image of athletes racing around the spina (the central barrier), the circus emerged as the metaphor of “der lauf des lebens” – life’s run and the flight from death.²⁰ For Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco the circus poignantly symbolized the futility of running in circles, evident from an emblem in his *Emblemas Morales* published in 1610 (Fig. 54).²¹ It must be called a concise confluence of genres when Covarrubias’s circus appears in a version that derives not only from Ligorio’s original but also from Bolognino Zaltieri’s re-engraving after Ligorio, executed in the 1570s: Characteristic of Zaltieri’s copy, the structure is reversed, but not the chariots.

Making an inventory of emblems in this manner would reveal the extent to which antiquarian literature leaked its inventions to another genre. What the examples demonstrate already, however, is the open passage that existed for ancient monuments to enter into a religious-moral context in an exchange that resembles the making of Lauro’s *Temple of Honor and Virtue*, but not completely.



54. Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, "Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus," emblem no. 68 from *Emblemas Morales* (Madrid, 1610). Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Antiquae Urbis Splendor appeared at a time when the tides turned, and the influence went not from antiquarian material to emblems, but the other way. One should not forget that the emblem *pictura*, as mentioned in the introduction, appeared simultaneously with Antonio Salamanca's publication of the first architectural reconstructions of Rome. In other words, emblems

formed part of the earliest repertoire of print and set *themselves* a standard for the development of European visual culture. Importantly, Lauro stood at a turning point in, and did himself induce, a history of building “remade as an image” when the emblematic depiction – multireferenced, poignant, normative – was able to produce a more relevant *Roma antica* than any antiquarian vision.²² Through the emblem, functioning almost as a talisman with mystic powers, Rome around 1600 could be restored to a level through which several strata of meanings transpired in one image.

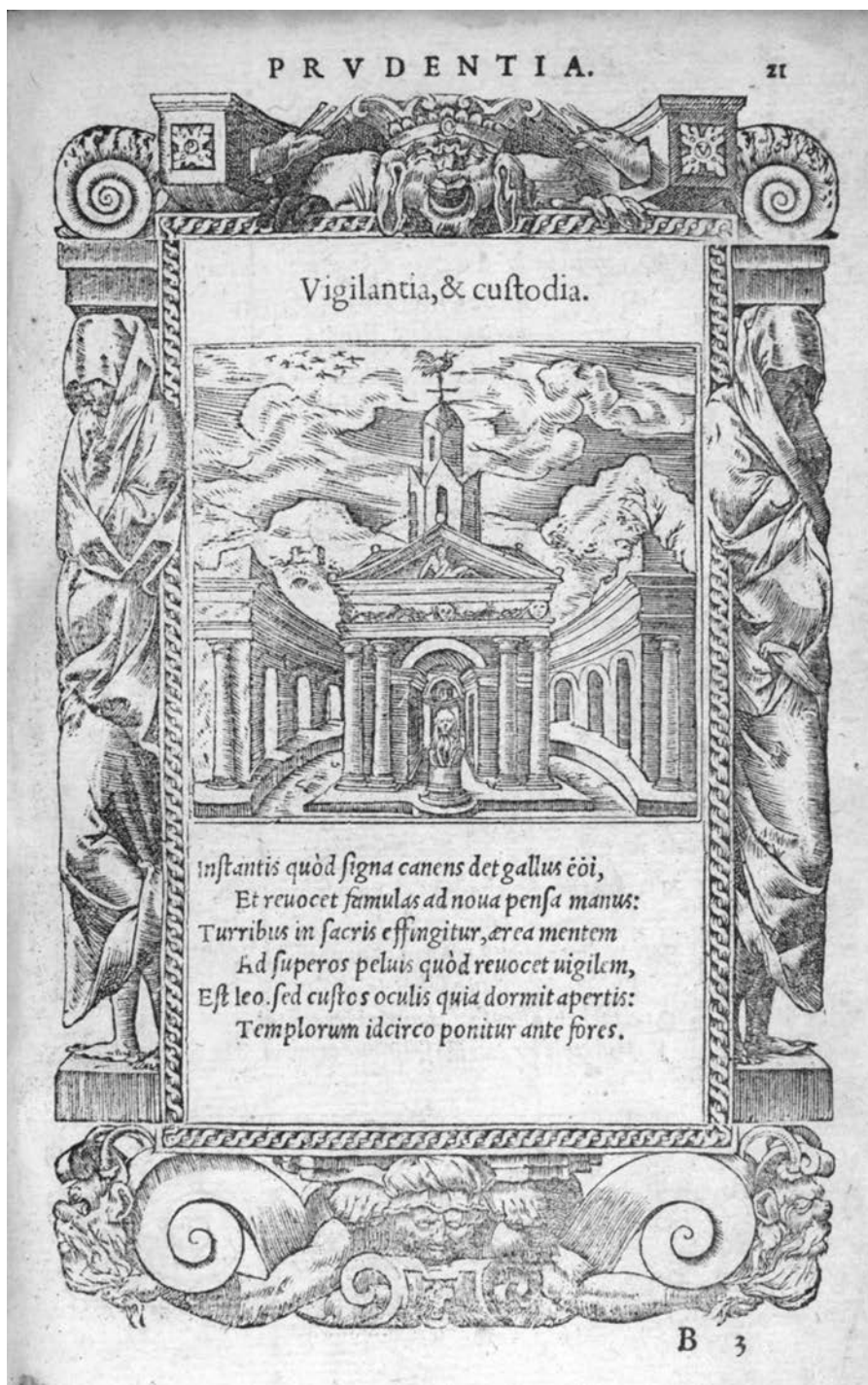
Rarely can one identify an actual inventor of a genre to the degree one can with Andrea Alciato.²³ Neither an antiquarian nor an artist, but a renowned lawyer, Alciato did in 1531 see his collection of poems published in Augsburg with the title *Emblemata*.²⁴ The poems aimed solely to entertain and divert and launched one of the greatest publishing successes in European history; almost two hundred editions in several languages appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, soon also with accompanying illustrations – none designed by Alciato, who died in 1550, but some reportedly approved by him.

In 1548 a new edition of Alciato’s *Emblemata* appeared with freshly designed woodcuts executed mostly by Pierre Vase. One of Alciato’s original mottos, “vigilance and protection,” appeared here in a startlingly familiar architectural form, as we shall see. The *concetto* for the illustration had been furnished by Alciato himself in the accompanying poem:

Because the cock by its crowing gives the signal of approaching dawn
and recalls working hands to fresh tasks,
it is placed on top of church towers.
A bronze bell (is hung there) because it recalls the waking mind to heaven.
But a lion is on guard because it sleeps with its eyes open.
For that reason it is placed before church doors.²⁵

Vigilance and protection are not synonymous, of course, with virtue and honor, but the dedication to a pair of didactic concepts nevertheless unites the two temples. The Italian translation of Alciato’s poem from 1551 also foreshadows Lauro’s almost comically mundane point about the danger of intruders by stressing the necessity of protecting the temple “so that thieves do not go in and attempt to steal.”²⁶ But the truly striking match concerns the actual architecture: The emblem shows a columnar temple front embraced by an exedra with arched openings (Fig. 55). A tower crowns the building from which a cock keeps watch.

Now, of course, Lauro may have consulted a number of ancient structures, such as the Temple of Romulus on the Forum, Ligorio’s *Varro’s aviary*, or indeed Bramante’s *Tempietto*. But copying any random monument simply would not do in Lauro’s careful calculation of his message. The image from the *Emblemata* not only established the moral basis for the solution but also suggested its



55. Pierre Vase (attrib.), Vigilance and Protection, emblem on p. 21 from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (Lyons, 1550). University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, SM34.

concrete form. In addition, Andrea Alciato is one of the sources Lauro lists in the bibliography of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* discussed in Chapter 1, which provides compelling evidence for a connection. In the company of classics and antiquarians, Alciato figures as the *auteur* of a symbolic architecture, exemplified by the quarry of illustrations accumulated through the reissues of his work. Given the early date of Vase's image, it is wise to keep in mind that it in fact preceded the micro-architecture of the reconstructive maps of Ligorio and Dupérac. As a model for Lauro and as a fresh point of access to the past, the design manifests the form of a sanctuary that inhabits that ideal, evasive realm of human conduct.

In 1567, a German edition of Alciato's emblem appeared in Frankfurt. "Protect and Guard" ("Hüt und Wach") is still the subject, but the original illustration is replaced by a new one.²⁷ The anonymous engraver retains the basic arrangement of Vase's temple, including the exedra, but interestingly he reshapes it into an almost exact prefiguration of Lauro's edifice (Fig. 56). A circular building stands on a podium, crowned by a low hemispherical dome. As in Lauro's image, the elevation consists of niches and columns in an alternating rhythm; similar too, is the entrance aedicule markedly set off against the main corpus, almost forming an ante-temple. Instead of the figure of honor, whom we glimpse through Lauro's doorway, tempting the visitor with a crown and laurel, a lion sits alert in the opening, symbolizing protection, because it is said to have its eyes open even in sleep, according to the text.

A freshly illustrated French edition of Alciato's emblems was published in 1584, at the time Lauro started preparing *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, and it would have represented the latest solution to a by now standardized form (Fig. 57). Here, the anonymous artist has lavished his attention on the central pavillion and created a prototype on which Lauro merely needed to adjust some details to make it serve its new function.²⁸ The development of emblem temples now seemed to end, surprisingly, in Lauro's version.

The three woodcuts illustrating Alciato's motto "vigilance and protection" are convincing models from many perspectives, but not from the most significant one. The objection is that neither of these notions associates to *virtù*, the prevailing theme in Lauro's reconstruction and, as I have discussed, in the restitution of Rome in general. The mismatch somewhat places the Alciato emblems to the side, but leaves the field of emblems open for a search for more precise solutions. Notably, Lauro ignored emblems that actually illustrate the double temple of honor and virtue, such as those found in Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarum Quaestionum* and Luca Contile's *Ragionamentum*, both published in 1574. These solutions were very different from each other, and they also ignored nuances in the iconography of virtue.²⁹ The idea of virtue, if one were to take Lauro's viewpoint, was too precious to be squandered on random forms.

EMBLEMATA. 25
EMBLEMA XXXVI.
Vigilantia & custodia.



*Instantis quod signa canens det gallus eoi,
Et reuocet famulas ad noua pensa manus:
Turribus in sacris effingitur ærea mentem
Ad superos peluis, quod reuocet vigilem.
Est Leo: sed custos oculis quia dormit apertis,
Templorum idcirco ponitur ante fores.*

Das XXXVI.
Hüt vnd Wach.

Das der Han anzeigt mit s im Rœhn
Das der Tag komb vnd thu sich nehn

Und

56. Anonymous, Vigilance and Protection, emblem no. 36 from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (Frankfurt, 1567). University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections. SM45.

Of course, the concept of virtue is one of art's most favored subjects and is in constant need of metaphors for it to be beheld. Lauro's architectural arrangement embodied, as mentioned, a moral notion formulated by Augustine, but the early Christian author himself pictured virtue by means of a very different parable. In fact, the progress the virtuous-seeking man makes goes by way of two distinct metaphors, both *topoi* since antiquity. The route goes not only through twin temples, as Lauro had envisioned, but also along a mountain ridge; the path to virtue is tortuous and allows no shortcuts, and so Augustine in *City of God* insists on the analogy of climbing a steep hill. Only an upward climb may lead the hero "towards his goal, towards glory, honor and power" (5.12). However, this imagery is not Augustine's invention, but reflects ancient classic musings about virtue and vice, and the crossroad in between, where Hercules famously found himself according to myth.³⁰ The choice the demigod had to make, between pursuing pleasure or moral perfection, was a favored theme in prints and paintings and reached a climax in Annibale Carracci's fresh take on the subject painted in 1595–97. The painting shows Hercules lost in brooding indecision, as a meditation on choice itself, heralding Baroque self-reflection and, in Christopher Braider's words, "the onset of the modern West."³¹

The Shakespearean doubt of a modern Hercules was a far too complex notion for the narrow moral format of the emblems. But interestingly, the path to virtue as a tough climb, not merely as a crossing of doorsteps, was also expressed in architecture. A convincing model for Lauro's composition is a modest "Temple of Virtue" that connects to his *conchetto* both on a moral and formal level. The miniature depiction appeared in an emblem devised by Guillaume de la Perrière, published in Lyons in 1553 (Fig. 58).³² The accompanying poem is short and poignant: Virtue cannot attain honor without proceeding along an arduous path, or as the original says, "Vertu ne peult à honneur parvenir / Sans que suëur le chemyn luy appreste." La Perrière adds to the allegory the figure of *Invidia*, or Envy, which in the picture literally follows in virtue's footsteps and spews her poison. What the picture also shows is that once the summit has been climbed one would have reached the Temple of Virtue, depicted by La Perrière as balancing on the pinnacle of the hilltop. Regardless of the rendering's schematics, the woodcut affirms the circular temple set within an exedra as virtue's own architectural form. In fact, and precisely in terms of its simplicity, the arrangement assumes the distinction of a symbol. Of course, the "Temple of Virtue" can be easily associated with the round, columnar Temple of Vesta on the Forum, but I cannot see the embracing arms as other than a late Renaissance contribution to the ideal moral compound, datable to the 1550s.

Lauro took the vocabulary of virtue, which he so impressively commanded, literally from the streets of Rome. In the text to the *Temple of Honor and Virtue*

ANDREÆ ALCIATI
Vigilantia & custodia.

EMBLEMA XV.



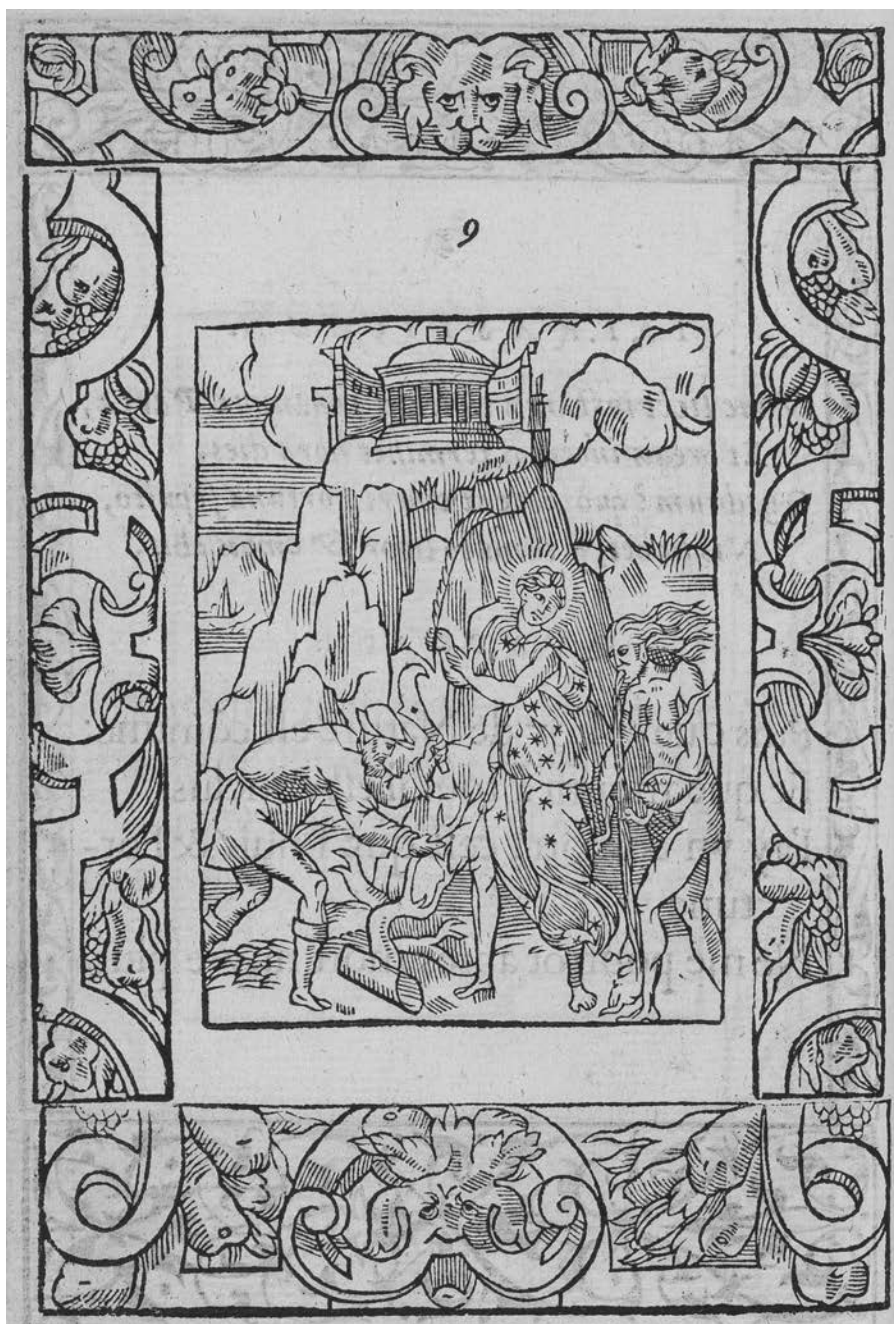
INSTANTIS quòd signa canens det gallus eoi,
Et reuocet famulas ad noua pensa manus:
Turribus in sacris effingitur area peluis,
Ad superos mentem quòd reuocet vigilem.
Est leo, sed custos oculis quia dormit apertis,
Templorum idcirco ponitur ante fores.

57. Anonymous, Vigilance and Protection, emblem no. 15 from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (Paris, 1584). University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, SM283.

he adds one final point, clearly being enthralled by the moral themes that the twin temple offers. He turns to the spiral columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, Rome's famous pair of soaring antiques, and the text ends with a celebration of the two ancient emperors as the very incarnation of good morality – who earned the title of *maximus* only after a forceful demonstration of virtue. Because of their conduct, Lauro writes, the columns were preserved “against the violence of time, wars, and general upheaval, as one may understand from the two very beautiful columns which were raised in the honor of these [the emperors], and which one today preserves in their ancient beauty and integrity.”³³ Here, Lauro repeats points made by another of his explicit sources, Cardinal Cesare Baronio. Throughout his immensely erudite history of the church, the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, which was published in twelve volumes between 1588 and 1607, Baronio always gave a moral reason for the survival of antiquities, of which the pair of spiral columns was the point in case. Lauro's innovative move, though, is the new context in which he makes the two columns reappear, as if they were movable props in a grand morality play or in a showdown between pagan and redeemed imperial Rome. He unmoors the columns from their actual setting in order to let them flank a monument erected somewhere else and at a different time. Clearly, Lauro includes them as symbols of the idea of virtue. They had a special sanction.

One suspects that for Lauro the monuments of ancient Rome existed on a basic level as nothing but signs. This approach to antiquities is far from the fieldwork undertaken by predecessors like Palladio and Ligorio and equally far from the reductionist hyper-editing of his successors, Maggi and Fei. Lauro brings ancient Rome to a higher level, or to a level beyond, recomposing the city as visual rhetoric. And there his architecture makes sense. The hodgepodge of quotes becomes part of a narrative the moment we take into account the moral grammar with which he and his contemporaries were familiar.

Never had an antiquarian encroached so far on the emblem genre as did Lauro. The genre not only offered concrete solutions but it also coincided with – perhaps conditioned – a new approach to antiquity. No doubt, Lauro dealt in concepts. His task, then, often centered on giving shapes to concepts that he considered significant, such as the “path of virtue” or “Catholic faith” and “imperial majesty,” and antiquity's relevance would depend on a successful manifestation of these notions. *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* is not an emblem book, but the comparison is relevant: The motto, the picture, and the epigram form a tripartite division that Lauro certainly repeats. And together with his simplistic delineation, one discovers a visual rhetoric not unrelated to emblems. In this connection, the similarity between Girolamo Franzini's simple schemata and the emblems is only superficial, because Lauro's simplicity holds a complex thought that corresponds to emblems on a level that is infinitely more



58. Guillaume de la Perrière, Virtue, emblem no. 9 from *La Morosophie* (Lyons, 1553). Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

profound. Above all, the insistent rejection of plain archaeological knowledge must be seen as a maneuver to convey the message in its most essential form. And to judge from the rapid dissemination of Lauro's image, the message was widely appreciated.

TEMPLES AT THE CROSSROAD

In the early 1460s, Antonio Averlino, “Il Filarete,” had described and partly illustrated an ideal structure called the House of Virtue and Vice. It heralds a moral edifice of Lauro’s kind, although Filarete’s building looked very different and excluded the concept of honor. More closely related to Lauro is the elaborate structure Maurice Scève in 1548 designed and later printed to celebrate the triumphal entry of the French king, Henry II, into Lyons the same year. It was an arch erected on the theme of the Temple of Honor and Virtue, obviously as a reminder to the king, who was going to pass under it, that honor may be attained only in the right progression; in Margaret McGowan’s words, “The organizers resurrected forms lost for centuries to express their aspirations for the king.”³⁴ Although both Filarete and de Scève’s monuments are allegorical, hardly touching at all on any discourse on antiques, neither offers a precise architectural model for Lauro’s solution. However, a third allegorical temple may do just that.

Federico Zuccaro was the author of the art theoretical manifest *L’Idea* that I described in the introduction. But he was also an accomplished artist and specialized in “allegorical compositions,” as E. James Mundy calls them, which reflected “a desire on the part of the artist to explore arcane visual references to humanist learning.” Mundy continues, “When this language was decoded, it carried a specific meaning that spoke to a sophisticated, educated audience.”³⁵ With an eye to the visual arts around 1600, Mundy speaks of allegory in a narrower and more figurative sense than did Walter Benjamin, who considered it an elaborately composed parable built up by symbolic elements and allusions. Having placed Lauro’s temple form in the symbolic realm of emblems introduced by Alciato and then aligned it to specific mountaintop versions, the exact and final adjustment, I argue, depended on Federico Zuccaro, who adds yet another layer to Lauro’s architectural palimpsest. An unavoidable reference to Lauro’s double temple is found in a drawing executed by Zuccaro sometime between 1577 and 1583 and known as *Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* (Plate V).³⁶ In it an allegorical tableau unfolds on the slope of a hill. To one side are figures representing the Sciences, such as geometry, grammar, and dialectic, and to the other stand the Fine Arts – sculpture, painting, and architecture and, behind the central figure of Apollo, also music and poetry. Similar themes were popular in the Renaissance and painted by Raphael, for instance, but the novelty in Zuccaro’s drawing is the architectural arrangement in the background. The assembly succinctly captures the various stages in the process to achieve mastery in these arts: Two centrally planned *tempietti* interconnect, one placed behind the other, and the correspondence to Lauro’s composition is startling, not the least because the frontal temple displays the identification “VIRTUTIS,” whereas the temple in the back – not surprisingly – reads “HONORIS” (Fig. 59).³⁷



59. Federico Zuccaro, *Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts*, 1577–83. Drawing, detail. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. 1983.67. Gift of János Scholz.

Zuccaro's compound thus embodies, or rather combines, *both* of Augustine's metaphors on virtue: The successful ascent to the mount of virtue sees the next allegory unfold, namely the advancement from virtue to honor. Like Lauro, he frames humans' moral progression as a succession of differently shaped pavilions. Zuccaro even provides a cast: On the steps to virtue's temple, the goddess Minerva (with helmet and shield) points out the direction through the entrance to the young, right-minded candidates. By contrast, things go bad for

the misguided ones, those who somehow try to climb the precinct – echoing Alciato and Lauro’s “glory snatchers” – and whom Zuccaro shows tumbling from treetops in a moral and also compositionally pleasing counterpose to the triumphant figures of fame trumpeting from the rooftop on the opposite side of the site (see Plate V).³⁸ The entrance to virtue’s temple expectedly leads on to honor, but Zuccaro does not let the journey end quite yet. He adds a third temple onnected by a colonnade, that of fame – *fama* – the ultimate goal and a new element to the theme, perhaps reflecting the ambitious Roman artist’s own idea of the true aim in life.

The purpose of the drawing remains unclear, but Zuccaro clearly considered the architectural arrangement particularly important, because it recurs in the ceiling fresco of his own palace in Rome, painted around 1593 (Plate VI). Here, a set of almost identical buildings to the ones in the drawing stand on top of a steep hill, which the reclining hero in the foreground is encouraged to climb. Thus the fresco, in a merging of traditions, combines the humanist allegory of the arts with the moral idea of the tortuous ascent to virtue, expressed by Augustine. Two histories run into one as it places the ancient twin temple by Porta Capena on the Parnassus of humanity’s progression. The fresco assembly thus forms a precise and elaborate configuration of the striving to attain moral perfection.

It is only on the level of details that Zuccaro’s double temple differs from Lauro’s printed one. For example, the Temple of Virtue shows a stepped dome rather than Lauro’s unusual ogee-shaped cupola; otherwise, the scale and proportion – even the stark, solidly framed doorway – are identical. In fact, the match is so exact that Lauro almost certainly must have seen the drawing or some other work based on it and now lost. The twin pavilion represented a manual of a sort for building in an edifying manner, regardless of whether it lent its captivating form to past or future projects. In relation to Lauro in particular, one senses a fundamental correspondence between the two artists – simultaneously working in Rome – in their moral approach to architecture.

ALLEGORY IN ARCHITECTURE

The popularity of the *Temple of Honor and Virtue* came no doubt from its implantation of morals in an architectural form. The rhetoric of Baroque architecture is a difficult topic and often rests on circumstantial evidence, because buildings are not narratives and obviously lack a vocabulary to “speak.” That said, allegories certainly helped articulate the message of otherwise mute structures.³⁹ A building’s underlying meaning, or in Baroque terms its *concetto*, is not born merely from clever retrospective interpretations but from the heart of the design process itself. In a culture that let emblems ratify antiquarian

prints (and vice versa), Lauro's striking solution became in turn emblematic for an archaeologically oriented clientele. In the remainder of this chapter I argue that this successful fusion of allegory and architecture, monuments and moral, proved irresistible to architects and patrons and provides a key to unlocking the meaning of a specific building type dominant well into the eighteenth century. From secular and religious perspectives alike, the notion of passing through virtue to attain honor suited the rhetoric of the Baroque age in particular. In a moral organization of architecture, if such a thing exists, Lauro's design pins down a type with a higher value. It fueled a variety of imitations in prints, in stucco reliefs, and not the least in actual buildings that included cathedrals, royal palaces, and garden pavilions across Europe. Building as a symbol, as a capricious folly, originates in Lauro's assembly, that, when freed from the heavy rhetoric of Catholic Rome, suddenly was seen to reveal a carefree side too – a mildly moralizing little *scherzo* transported to the lighter realm of a rococo-style arcadia.

As to be expected, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* had as great an impact on emblematic prints as on antiquarian ones. Lauro's reformulation of an ancient building was itself reformulated as a symbol, and at times in contexts with no connection to honor and virtue at all. Between the 1620s and 1650s the *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* recurred in allegorical designs by artists such as Giacinto Gimignani, Ciro Ferri, and Domenico Barrière. Importantly, these artists also associated closely with the architects of the Roman High Baroque – Bernini, Borromini, and Cortona – and can therefore be seen as agents ushering Lauro's design into a contemporary architectural discourse. In fact, two examples open the back door to the apocryphal history of the *Honoris et Virtutis* as a motif in Baroque architecture.

Giacinto Gimignani was a painter from Pistoia who came to Rome and established himself as one of Pietro da Cortona's close followers. A drawing attributed to Gimignani and engraved by Cornelis Bloemaert around 1635 elaborates on the emblem of the Accademia Partenia, an institution for Jesuit novices that aimed at scientific research on a religious-moral basis (Fig. 60). Angela Negro has attempted an interpretation of the print, decoding admirably the complex allegory it contains that includes the image of an enthroned youth seated on the chariot of Cybele drawn by two lions while holding the globe of Ptolemy.⁴⁰ What Negro does not note, however, is the structure in the background. It outlines a low domed building, an exedra with alternating niches and pilasters, and a spiral column – all combined in a way that leads back to only one possible model: Lauro's temple. The details, such as the flight of stairs leading up to an entrance crowned with a triangular pediment, are also identical to those in Lauro's image. A figure even seems to preside within the edifice, just like Lauro pictured it; the laurel of honor, however, is held out by a hand that extends *in front* of the entrance, emphasizing the



60. Giacinto Gimignani, emblem of the Accademia Partenian. Engraving by Cornelis Bloemaert, ca. 1635. Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, FC69033. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.

significance of the promise of reward. Interestingly, the artist compresses Lauro's double temple into one, and admittedly, the twin temples – one projected in front of the other – are the most difficult part of Lauro's image to read. Omitting one of the temples naturally undermines the entire meaning, short-circuiting the necessary progression from virtue to honor, but it also simplifies the design in a way that should be characteristic of the dissemination of Lauro's invention.⁴¹

The question, however, is who really was responsible for seeing the building's emblematic potential. The inscriptions on the print indicate that Gimignani executed the drawing (with the abbreviation *del.*), but not that he invented the composition (commonly denoted *inv.*). Louise Rice outright attributes the drawing for the print to Cortona, although some problems relate to this attribution.⁴² But elements in the composition are certainly his, because they are copied from an earlier drawing, undisputedly by Cortona and engraved by Charles Audran, which also showed the Parthenian Academy in an allegorical tableau.⁴³ The figure of Jupiter and the academy's emblem of an eagle with a stone gripped in its claws are nearly identical in the two compositions. If Cortona in reality was the *inventor* behind Gimignani's drawing, it means that it was he who picked up Lauro's edifice.



61. Domenico Barrière, allegory of the Temple of Merit and Honor. Engraved frontispiece from Antonio Blancari's *Ivonianum Templum sive de S. Ivone Pauperum Patrono Oratio* (Rome, 1653). Stamp. Chig. IV. 2177, int. 20 © 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Of course, the rite of passage through virtue could relate successfully to about any theme. Learning, faith, maturity were all goals attainable by measured stages only. An architectural backdrop copied from Lauro would lend to most subjects a sense of higher aim or deeper insight. Progression as such had found its visual formula. But to Cortona, Lauro's temple most likely had a very precise emblematic meaning. The content of Cortona's library, as Karl Noehles concludes based on a surviving inventory, corresponded to the architect's "moral-theological interests" and contained not only architectural treatises but also a significant section of iconological-emblematic literature, such as Guglielmo Baldesano's *Stimolo alle virtù proprio del giovane Christiano partito in tre parti*, published in Rome in 1592 and again in 1625.⁴⁴ The genre of Baroque thesis prints, to which the imagery discussed earlier belongs, showed extremely elaborate, multireferenced conceits that drew on a wealth of sources. In the Parthenian Academy image engraved by Audran, "Cortona very intentionally positioned the disparate elements of the composition so as to suggest a web of metaphorical relationships." No single element was placed accidentally, but combined in a "complex interweaving of mythological, heraldic, and emblematic threads."⁴⁵ If anyone at the time was able to appreciate the moral content of Lauro's double temple, it would be Cortona.

Francesco Borromini, too, was drawn into the orbit of Lauro's tantalizingly emblematic double temple. In 1653, Domenico Barrière published an allegorical frontispiece to an oration to the church S. Ivo alla Sapienza in Rome (Fig. 61).⁴⁶ Barrière was Borromini's printmaker, collaborating with the architect on drawing and printing his buildings, especially the church of S. Ivo. The frontispiece attracts particular interest because it is one of the first representations of Borromini's dome and extraordinary spiral lantern.⁴⁷ However, in Barrière's composition, the university church makes only a modest appearance and, even more, an allegorical one, suggestively completing one part of the double temple of honor and virtue. In a reading of the image's allegorical content, the student is invited to pass through the "Temple of Merit" (virtue) before he goes to the "Temple of Honor," both of which Barrière explicitly identifies in the print. In his interpretation, Joseph Connors correctly recognizes the ultimate reference in Marcellus's ancient double temple, and he concludes that S. Ivo in the form of the "Temple of Honor" embodies the wisdom that the student may reach at the end of the journey. But the foreground structure, which Connors dismisses as a "conventional little shrine," is anything but: It dominates the view, and one immediately recognizes Lauro's *Templum Honoris et Virtutis*. Three features in particular link Barrière's building to Lauro: first, the ogee-shaped dome, in this case crowned by a lantern; and second, the entrance set on a tall base and reached by a steep stairway – in that connection Barrière even placed Lauro's figure of honor inside with a laurel and crown in each hand. Lastly, the all-important exedra is visible behind the shoulder of

the personification of the papacy. By 1653, then, Lauro's reconstruction had triumphed as the very emblem of virtue, reappearing in architectural discourses and recurring within the setting of contemporary Rome.

Gimignani and Barrière collaborated closely with Cortona and Borromini, and the temple caught the attention also of these architects. For if cinquecento emblems had turned ancient architecture into allegorical subjects, it is a progression that *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* reverses, feeding allegory back into real building projects. Roman antiques appealed to Baroque architects not as ruins, however, but as universal moral messages in the way they had been transformed by Lauro. Borromini, for instance, quoted *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* as a reference to accompany his proposed design for the Villa Pamphili in Rome.⁴⁸ Lauro's distorted and metaphorical reconstructions thus intriguingly entwine with the imaginative Borrominian aesthetics. The architect's unconventionality, by this particular connection, reflects less the clichéd notion of a capricious Baroque than it reveals the antiquity available in print. With the wealth of fantasy reconstructions of Lauro's kind in mind, it is not Borromini who is nondoctrinal, but the antiquarians on whom he relied.

S. MARIA DELLA PACE RECONSIDERED

The reconstructions in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* are frequently proposed by scholars as models for various architectural projects in the Baroque period – so frequently in fact that to compile a full list of references is futile. However, these comparisons are often based on a mere formal likeness instead of also taking into account and interrogating the material for correspondences that may (or may not) exist on a conceptual level. When Rupert Martin sees Baroque architecture “as embodying certain abstract ideas,” what does that mean exactly? How do actual solids “speak”? By which precise connections may slabs of stone and pure ideas be made to seemingly combine in a message?⁴⁹ Lauro's coupling of a moral dimension with a particular form, such as in the *Temple of Honor and Virtue*, inspired in my opinion a new rhetorical combination, which I think Cortona and also Gian Lorenzo Bernini sought out in particular.

Cortona's S. Maria della Pace, built between 1656 and 1659, is the period's most consistent and interesting evocation of Lauro's temple design, picking up not just the occasional feature but arguably also realizing the engraving's precise configuration. Pope Alexander VII Chigi held a special affection for the church in all accounts because his distant relative, the great banker Agostino Chigi, had built a chapel there just after 1500 and commissioned decorations by Raphael. Already as a young monsignor the future pope took an interest in the church, and immediately after his election he initiated renovations. During the short, intense construction period, the project grew, and Cortona's initially modest

plan to add a porch was extended to include a new façade and a harmonious square in front (Fig. 62).⁵⁰ The complex architectural assembly that resulted has been connected to various antique models. The striking rounded portico, especially, has prompted scholars to suggest the architect's reliance on Serlio's printed reconstruction of S. Costanza, as well as on Dupérac's reconstruction of the Baths of Diocletian. The Temple of Peace has been a favored reference and would indeed connect to the church's theme, even though it is not equally clear what it was thought to have looked like in mid-seventeenth-century Rome.⁵¹ None of the proposed models, however, explain the entirety of Cortona's combination of parts; they account for one prominent element – the rounded porch – but not for others, such as the polygon main corpus and the gently curved wings at the flanks.

When Alexander VII gave Cortona the job it was never a question of putting up an entirely new building. An important part of Cortona's *concetto* was always to display the “old” church alongside the “new” one that he and the pope were about to add – a juxtaposition illustrating the building's various phases. A church already existed, erected by Sixtus IV in the early 1480s, which comprised the central octagon hall, the dome, the nave, and a simple façade.⁵² Before Sixtus, moreover, an even older building had stood on the site, mentioned in eleventh-century documents, and this church was popularly known not as S. Maria della Pace, but as S. Maria della Virtù – a sanctuary celebrating virtue, although in reality it was dedicated to Saint Andrew.⁵³ A resurrection of the church in its earliest form, centered on *virtù*, would be an incentive for Cortona to scan the literature for temples associated with that concept.

Cortona's rebuilding was therefore also a resurrection of an ideal structure that somewhat resided within the visible one, and the significance of the place as a double shrine apocryphally dedicated to virtue was spelled out metaphorically before Cortona even had completed his upgrading. In 1658, or soon thereafter, Giacomo de Rossi published a book listing the cardinals who served under Alexander VII. Engraved by Albert Clouvet, the frontispiece represents a by now familiar allegory: Minerva with a plumed helmet takes a Roman hero by the hand and points out to him the morally charged precinct in the background (Fig. 63). Identified by the inscriptions on the architectural friezes the twin temple makes an appearance yet again, with the “Templum Virtutis” in front of the “Templum Honoris.” But on this occasion the allegorical structure has adapted the form of a very real one, namely Cortona's S. Maria della Pace: The semicircular portico, the domed structure, and curving wings are all features of the ongoing project transported to the print's allegorical realm.⁵⁴ This moral recasting of the monument is significant because the design of the frontispiece traces back to Cortona himself. It is true that the inscription on the print names Carlo Cesi the draftsman with the simple



62. Pietro da Cortona, S. Maria della Pace, Rome, 1656–58. Engraving and etching by Domenico Barrière, second half of the seventeenth century. Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, CL2319/11807. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.

“del.” – *delineavit* – but the actual drawing, kept in the national museum in Stockholm, is cataloged with an attribution to Ciro Ferri (Plate VII).⁵⁵ Perhaps Cesi in the final instance copied a drawing by Ferri. The crucial question, however, is not which of the two was responsible for the delineation, because both worked under the direction and influence of Cortona in this period, carrying out his commissions and imitating their master’s style and ideas. The question is who devised the concept.

Ferri was on especially close terms with Cortona and assisted him in actual building projects; he even drew up exact ground plans for S. Maria della Pace.⁵⁶ Moreover, they collaborated on an allegorical print published in 1658 on which Cortona is named the “inventor” and Ferri the “delineator.”⁵⁷ Like in Clouvet’s print published the same year, this design employed the image of S. Maria della Pace as an emblematic prop (although in this case not as an evocation of honor and virtue), which makes it reasonable to believe that, whoever in the circle executed the actual drawings, the *maestro* himself conceived of the ideas.

Since the frontispiece to the book on cardinals carries the date 1658, the drawing must have been made that year or possibly earlier. My suggestion is that it was designed *after* the final form of the portico had been established, because it restates Cortona's double pairs of Tuscan columns and a low dome complete with ribs, but *before* the façade proper had been designed; instead the frontispiece retains the façade of Sixtus's old church, not yet demolished, as an illustration of the "Templum Honoris." In this way the engraving makes the new edifice seem to "step" out from the old one, conveying the significance of the double temple architecturally, historically, as well as conceptually – as if all the cardinals in the book first filed through virtue's doorway. The drawing, then, captures the subtlest connotations of a building still in the process of being built, delineated by an assistant but recording a notion that probably was in the mind of the chief architect himself.

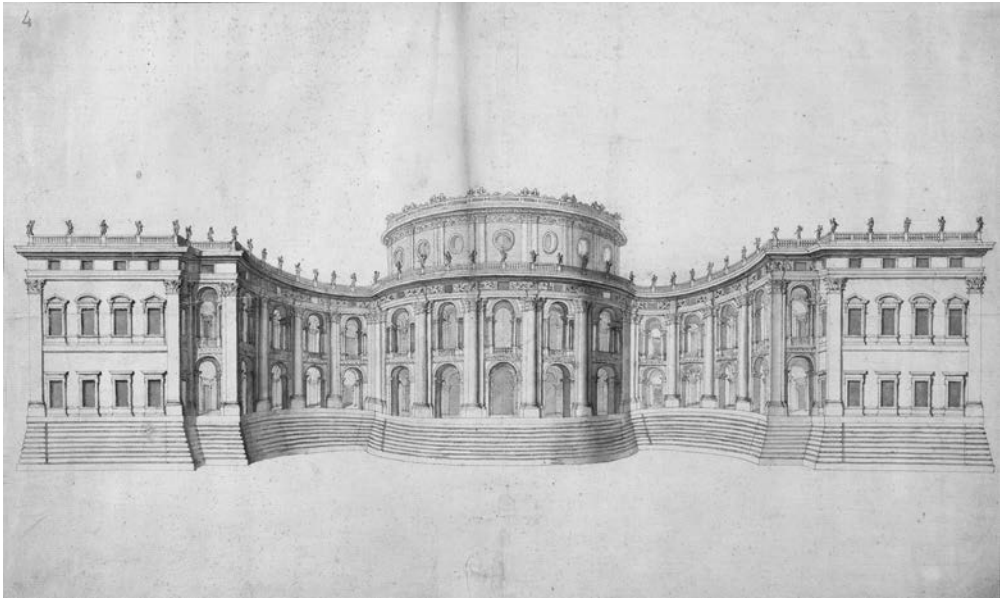
It is about time to bring Lauro back into the picture. The main point is not how the Clouvet print connects to Cortona's church, but how it acts as an intermediary that connects the church to Lauro. Lauro's reconstruction offered the instruction manual for assembling modern-day temples of honor and virtue, and although their individual traits might differ, Clouvet's and Lauro's prints combined give a powerful indication of the meaning behind the church. It is true that Zuccaro's allegorical hilltop precinct offers a spectacularly precise precedent for Cortona's division of his church into a domed columnar porch and a polygonal central structure, which has been inexplicably overlooked in the history of scholarship on S. Maria della Pace. Yet, this extraordinary neglect somewhat reflects the situation in Cortona's own days when the fresco would at best be a sophisticated reference accessible and known to an elite few, whereas Lauro's image was widely distributed and, of course, also provided a more refined exposition literally and archaeologically.

Like Borromini, Cortona must also have known *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. His proposal for a new east façade to the Louvre (1664) is greatly indebted to Lauro's *Golden House of Nero* (see Fig. 19),⁵⁸ and reportedly, the two artists even collaborated on designing a map of the city of Cortona.⁵⁹ But the clearest evidence of Lauro's influence is Cortona's reapplication of his double temple in print and also in architecture. Admittedly S. Maria restates less the temple's particular traits than its arrangement of forms – porch, main building, wings – a triad that through Lauro gave a moral, historical, and architectural meaning to the project of this intellectually oriented architect and master of conceits. The combination of a double temple set within an exedra provided a formal and moral backing for the modest restoration Cortona originally had planned, which he had hoped would preserve and display the site's own unique history, concretely expressed as one edifice sheltered within another and with the age-old sobriquet of *virtù* morally activating the transition between the two. The



63. Albert Clouvet, allegory figuring the Temple of Honor and Virtue. Engraved frontispiece from the list of cardinals under Alexander VII published by Giacomo de Rossi in 1660. Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, FC89844. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.

original *concetto*, which somehow has faded over the years, comes distinctly into view. For what Cortona had found in the pope's commission was a double temple, equaling that of Marcellus, but originating in Christianity's own antiquity.



64. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, project for the east façade of the Louvre, 1664. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michèle Bellot.

THE MAKING OF A TYPE

Cortona was not the only Roman architect invited by King Louis XIV of France and his prime minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert to compete for the rebuilding of the eastern façade of Louvre's *cour carrée*. It was in fact the period's "starchitect," Bernini, who got the commission and who traveled to Paris in 1665, although in the end none of his proposals were accepted.⁶⁰ In his third project for the Louvre façade, submitted to the king in July 1665, Bernini explained certain elements with the idea that "whoever wishes to reside in this palace must pass through virtue and labor." It was the architect's assistant Mattia de' Rossi who quoted Bernini and then continued to give his own account: "This thought and allegory greatly pleased His Majesty, to whom it seemed to have grandeur and sententiousness."⁶¹ The thought delighting the Sun King so much was, of course, the scheme of man's progression through virtue to honor, materialized by Bernini not in ecclesiastical architecture, but in a secular one. The scheme is a direct translation of Lauro's appeal to the rulers of this world to erect "temples of honor and virtue in their minds, so as not to concede honors to other than the virtuous," as may be recalled from the text accompanying the *Templum Honoris et Virtutis*. Bernini even seems to have realized Lauro's actual vision. Of the three projects for the Louvre, the first one in particular (1664) is indebted to Lauro's arrangement and its interplay between concave and convex shapes (Fig. 64). Raised on a tall base, the projected palace gives the impression of consisting of a circular

manifested an architectural topos in the Roman Baroque, widely employed and varied on by the period's architects. Quite a few sprawling compounds suddenly seem less so, when reconsidered in terms of the precisely formulated honor-and-virtue composition.

The ancient temple in Lauro's reworking acquired a form that contradicted archaeology, but preached to an increasingly secular society. A moral message in the guise of a building functioned conveniently both as a guide of conduct and as a concrete proposal for sovereigns and aristocrats across Europe. A survey confirms how the distribution of copies of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, through gifts and normal sale, exported the double-temple type to France and also to German-speaking countries where the scheme provided a vital stimulus well into the eighteenth century. Fischer von Erlach, the architect of Schönbrunn and Hofburg, was an early ambassador for Lauro as designer, lifting his paper visions off the page and into solid form in the way discussed in the previous chapter. Fischer's buildings are iconic of the Austrian Baroque, but indebted to the Roman antique. His particular fascination with and exploitation of ancient forms make his work a resounding echo of earlier designs, and the Karlskirche (1715–24) in Vienna stands in a league of its own (Fig. 66). Rarely did ancient Rome make a more striking comeback north of the Alps, as in the two gigantic spiral columns flanking the church façade. Nor could they have flanked the church quite so audaciously had not Lauro, based on Baronio, recharged them to become moral signposts of virtue, locally reassigned as aids in the religious enlightenment of the Viennese. The recurring motif – spiral columns and a dome with oculi – came to constitute a precise formula in a moral-architectural history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, a range of projects seem less mysterious, and more tightly programmed, in light of the *Temple of Honor and Virtue*. The so-called Temple of the Sun in the Hermitage outside Bayreuth, built by Joseph Saint-Pierre between 1749 and 1753, is a capricious garden “temple” conceived in a clear line of succession from Lauro (Plate VIII). Saint-Pierre's wings gently curve out from the central pavilion (in contrast to the straight façade of the slightly antecedent Sanssouci in Potsdam), whereas the pavilion itself comes with paired columns and a low dome just as Lauro's by then 150-year-old prototype.⁶³

Informal structures like this one allowed for a playful treatment of themes related to virtue, honor, and glory. Nowhere is that more succinctly expressed than in the ephemeral showpiece erected in The Hague in 1749 to celebrate the signing of the peace treaty at Aachen.⁶⁴ The pavilion recalls the Bayreuth temple, but the curving wings follow Lauro's model even more closely, repeating both the twin columns and the balustrade. This building conveys, of course, symbols related to peace – not virtue – but the fact that the type is “symbolic” at all is most probably to Lauro's credit. A moral message camouflaged as architecture turned out to become an indispensable starting point



66. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Karlskirche, Vienna, 1715–24. Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

for Baroque builders and patrons regardless of whether they built cathedrals, palaces, or pavilions. The composition codified a universal meaning: It put into actual form the aspiring toward moral improvement – or rather it provided a model for anyone who wished to awaken such aspirations from their occupants, visitors, or beholders. Yet, Lauro's emblematic, multireferenced compound is so elaborate that the collection of elements verge on becoming mere décor, and soon the heavily charged Baroque collapsed into playful rococo. The eighteenth-century garden folly springs from Lauro's assembly too, freed of the missionary rhetoric, but retaining the delight in ornamentation and light-hearted didactics that brings the development back full circle to Alciati's entertaining emblems where it all started.

The *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* represents a form of moral antiquarianism that rapidly picked up pace with Giacomo Lauro. Virtue, that amalgamation of nobleness, was a catalyst in the Baroque recovery of lost antiques, as it had been earlier of course, but now with pronounced visual relish. Even the pages in Lauro's book were ordered to form a progression, along a path not only through Rome but also along an inner path. As mentioned previously, the

Temple of Honor and Virtue introduced the series as a reminder of moral vigilance to readers about to contemplate the grandiose, pagan sites. Just as the elements in the print combined in a type that itself was morally edifying and inspired new layouts in architecture, so the folios were arranged in a sequence meant to secure the gradual ennobling of the mind. Emblems no doubt influenced a fundamental re-composition of restored ancient Rome as well as offering a storehouse of architectural motifs. With the confluence of Augustine and Vitruvius, an allegorical edifice with a historical temple, history itself bent its course in the service of a new visual rhetoric. Popular printed genres, including frontispieces, thesis prints, and various allegorical conceits, instructed antiquarians on how to make reconstructions convey several meanings at a glance. So what Lauro was interested in doing was finding not the actual arrangement of a site, but sites that could be rearranged according to certain moral standards. This approach would have been completely alien to preceding antiquarians like Andrea Fulvio and Pirro Ligorio. Virtue, which formerly the antiquarian had let guide him in his study of remains, now shaped their very reconstruction. Immaterial and intrinsic qualities congealed in an outward display, placing the antiquarian himself on that moral path as an eyewitness and reporter of the edifices one might encounter en route to enlightenment. He is therefore also more of a theoretician, a philosopher, of the kind Kircher would become. But around 1600, it was with a backing in popular genres containing elaborate conceits and multiple meanings that Lauro was able to grasp a past that had vanished. Antiquity's continuing survival in the Baroque was as allegory.